

A STUDY OF THREE GOVERNORS OF GEORGIA FROM WALTON COUNTY, GEORGIA:

ALFRED HOLT COLQUITT, HENRY DICKERSON McDANIEL AND

CLIFFORD MITCHELL WALKER

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY IN

PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR

THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

BY

C. T. WRIGHT

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

AUGUST 1967

R. 11-11
29.58

1403-13

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	1
Chapter	
I. ALFRED HOLT COLQUITT (1877-1882)	5
The Bourbon Triumvirate, 1872-1890	
Biographical Sketch	
The Election of 1876	
Colquitt's Administration	
The Election of 1880	
Economic Program	
Summary	
II. HENRY DICKERSON McDANIEL (1883-1886)	31
The Election of 1883	
Biographical Sketch	
McDaniel's Administration	
Summary	
III. CLIFFORD MITCHELL WALKER (1923-1927)	42
Biographical Sketch	
The Elections of 1920 and 1922	
Walker's Administration	
Summary	
IV. CONCLUSION	53
BIBLIOGRAPHY	55

INTRODUCTION

A basic principle of the constitution of Georgia, as of the constitution of each of the states of the United States, is the establishment of an executive department with its power vested in a governor. This is a narrative based on the lives and times of three governors of Georgia who were born in Walton County: Alfred Holt Colquitt, Henry Dickerson McDaniel and Clifford Mitchell Walker.

Before fully examining the lives and times of these three men, a brief historical background of the county of their birth is in order. Situated in North Central Georgia, Walton County was created by an act of the General Assembly of Georgia on December 19, 1818.¹ This act stipulated that the place of holding elections and court in Walton County would be at Easley Cowpens. The first courthouse was a small log cabin which contained "cracks large enough to throw a small shoat through." It is said that the clerk carried his most important papers in his hat. By another act of the General Assembly on November 30, 1821, Monroe was made the county seat and has remained so up to the present time.²

Walton County has been the home, either by birth or residence,

¹Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, 1818 (Milledgeville, 1818), p.92. Walton County was named for George Walton, one of the three signers of the Declaration of Independence from Georgia who later became a Revolutionary Governor of his State.

²Lucian L. Knight, Georgia Landmarks, Memorials and Legends (Atlanta: Byrd Printing Co., 1914), p.240.

of five Georgia governors and one from Texas. They were William Lumpkin (1831-1835), Alfred H. Colquitt (1877-1882), James S. Boynton (1883), Henry D. McDaniel (1883-1886), and Clifford M. Walker (1923-1927). Richard B. Hubbard, born on a Walton County farm in 1836, became Governor of Texas. This distinguished Georgian was a graduate of Mercer University. He was the American Ambassador to Japan during the first administration of President Grover Cleveland, and made the opening address at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.¹

Other celebrated citizens of Walton County include William A. Jackson, son of Governor James Jackson, who fought the Yazoo Fraud with such vigor; John Addison Cobb and his sons, Howell and Tom; Miss Mildred Rutherford, historian and educator; Judge Junius Hillyer and his son George; Secretary of State John B. Wilson; Miss Moina Michael, known as the "Poppy Lady"; Martha Lumpkin, the little girl for whom Atlanta was named Marthasville; and General Robert Echols, one-time president of the State Senate and soldier of the Mexican War.

Although Walton County has been a traditional agrarian community, the county is a leader in the swift transition from the old all-agricultural economy to a new economy of agriculture and industry. The geographical location helps perpetuate the industrial growth of the county. It is situated within one hour's drive of a metropolitan area and at the same time is far enough away to attract manufacturers.²

¹Sander Camp, "Industrial, Agricultural and Historical Review," Walton Tribune (Monroe), May 21, 1958, p.5.

²Ibid., pp.6-7.

The three largest communities in Walton County are Monroe, Social Circle, and Logansville. Monroe, the county seat, was named for President James Monroe, who was serving in that capacity when the city was incorporated in 1821. When a fire swept the entire section of the main street in 1857, the courthouse was the only building left standing. Monroe did not make rapid progress until after the Civil War, but since that time it has grown and prospered.¹

Social Circle is the second largest town in the county. It was incorporated as a town in 1831 after it had become a famous cross-road for traders on their way to markets in Augusta and Atlanta. According to one authority, a group of travelers were seated in a circle resting for the night before taking up their journey on the next day when a man on horseback rode up and remarked, "This is a social circle." On taking his leave the next morning, he said, "hope to meet the social circle again." From this gathering, the town of Social Circle received its name.²

Logansville is the third largest town in Walton County. It was named for James Harvey Logan in 1843, just twenty-five years after Walton County was laid out. Logan, a native Tennessean, was the town's first postmaster. In 1887, the town was incorporated with J. I. Robinson as the first mayor.³

¹Mrs. Robert H. Jones, Jr., "Walton County," Georgia Society of Historical Research, September 22, 1947, p.1.

²Mell Knox, "History of Social Circle," Unpublished paper in the Walton County Public Library (Monroe), June, 1950, pp.1-3.

³Jones, op.cit., p.2.

The census of 1845 shows that Walton County had 12,470 people, 7,761 whites and 4,709 Negroes. On the basis of this population the county was entitled to send two representatives to the State Legislature.¹ According to the 1960 census, Walton County had 20,481 residents, 60 percent white and 40 percent nonwhite. Of this number, 6,826 resided in Monroe, 1,790 in Social Circle, 926 in Logansville, leaving 10,939 in the other rural areas. The county was entitled to one representative in the State General Assembly.

¹George White, Statistics of the State of Georgia (Savannah: W. T. Williams Co., 1849), p.340.

CHAPTER I

ALFRED HOLT COLQUITT (1877-1882)

The Bourbon Triumvirate

Upon the restoration of Democratic control in 1872 until the rise of small farmers in 1890, with few intermissions, Georgia was politically controlled by an element in the Democratic Party known as the "Bourbons." Having overthrown the Reconstruction administration, the Bourbons were characterized by their exceptional ability to look backward and appreciate the new at the same time. They were aware of the fact that industrialization had made the North opulent and wanted the South to follow suit. They advocated new industrialism; the growth of towns and cities; and the development of natural resources. Furthermore, the Bourbons knew that it was advantageous for them to maintain harmonious relations with the money interest of the East, which meant that they accepted the Eastern ideals and many of their procedures, such as a close liaison between political and business leaders. At the same time, the program called for low taxes and inexpensive government; and little expenditure of money for schools, persons and public services.¹

During this period, the political destinies of the State rested

¹C. Vann Woodward, Tom Watson-Agrarian Rebel (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), p.56.

in the hands of three men: General John B. Gordon, Joseph E. Brown, and Alfred H. Colquitt. This group, better known as the "Bourbon Triumvirate," established a political machine so powerful that either Brown or Gordon held one of the United States senatorships during the entire period from 1872 to 1890, and Colquitt acquired the other after his term as governor expired in 1882. Also for the major portion of this period, either Colquitt or Gordon served as governor.¹

The Bourbon Triumvirate commenced in 1872 when Gordon was elected to the United States Senate; and in 1876 Colquitt took over the governorship. Brown did not appear until 1880 when he was appointed to the United States Senate. During the Civil War no one played a bigger part in Georgia's affairs nor took greater interest in the people than Brown. A native of South Carolina, he came to Georgia when he was nineteen and settled in the northeastern part of the State. Brown went back to South Carolina to receive his schooling and returned to Georgia to teach school, and, after studying law, was admitted to the Georgia Bar in 1845.²

Brown launched his political career in the State Senate, and later became judge of the Blue Ridge Circuit. In the fall of 1857, he was elected Governor, and served as the chief executive of Georgia for four terms of two years each (1857-1865), making a total of eight

¹J. B. Floyd and R. L. Felton, "Political Independent," Georgia Historical Quarterly, XXX (March, 1946), 16.

²Herbert Fielder, A Sketch of the Life and Times and Speeches of Joseph E. Brown (Springfield, Mass.: Press of Springfield Printing Co., 1883), p.91.

years.¹

The second of the Bourbon Triumvirate was relatively unknown before the Civil War. John B. Gordon was born in Upson County, Georgia, and attended the University of Georgia. He entered the war as a captain, soon became one of the youngest lieutenant-generals in the Confederate Army, and was the State's most renowned soldier in the War. General Gordon enjoyed the glamor of the South's past; his economic interests were essentially those of a lawyer and businessman. He was a typical example of the combination of the old and the new. As a Georgia Democrat, he served ~~in the United States Senate~~ from 1873 to 1880 and from 1891 to 1897; and as governor between 1886 and 1890.²

Biographical Sketch

This chapter deals primarily with the administration of Alfred Holt Colquitt and more emphasis, therefore, will be placed on him than on the other Bourbons. Colquitt was born in Walton County, Georgia, on April 20, 1824, the son of Walter Terry Colquitt. At the age of twenty he graduated from the College of New Jersey (Princeton University), where he had studied law, and later was admitted to the bar in his native state.³

¹Ulrich B. Phillips, Life of Robert Toombs (New York: Macmillan Co., 1913), p.171.

²Allen P. Tankersley, John B. Gordon -- A Study in Gallantry (Atlanta: Whitehall Press, 1955), p.12.

³Allen D. Candler (ed.), Cyclopedia of Georgia (Atlanta: State Historical Association, 1906), I, 430.

The elder Colquitt (Walter), who also was a graduate of Princeton University, has been described as the most versatile man of his day, a born strategist and a consummate master of assemblies. He served as United States Senator from Georgia from March 4, 1843, until February 14, 1848, at which time he resigned.¹ The younger Colquitt inherited much of his paternal genius. Both father and son were ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church (South), but neither served as a pastor of a church. Both were great orators, however, the elder Colquitt was superior to his son. Once, Judge Richard H. Clark described Walter Colquitt as being "Spurgeon, Garrick and Sheridan, all united in one." Knight relates a typical day in the Judge's career: "While presiding on the bench at a murder trial, he delivered a political speech in the afternoon, chastised a political opponent on his way to supper, and preached a sermon in one of the local pulpits at night."²

Alfred Colquitt fought in the Mexican War and attained the rank of major. His first venture into politics was in 1849 when he became assistant secretary of the State Senate, and it was there that he first became acquainted with Joseph E. Brown. However, it was in 1853 that he made his real political debut, running as a nominee of the Democratic Southern Right group against a Union candidate, James Johnson,

¹Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1961 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1961), p.723. Walter T. Colquitt became a member of the State Senate in 1834 and 1837, and was elected to the Twenty-Sixth Congress, and served from March 4, 1839, to July 21, 1840, when he resigned, having refused to support General Harrison for President.

²Lucian L. Knight, A Standard History of Georgia and Georgians (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1917), II, 880.

for Congress. Many political observers felt that Union men in the Second District had the support of the electorate, but this did not discourage Colquitt. He hit the campaign trail in his buggy, making daily speeches and canvassing his district for two months. Colquitt had the political guidance, prestige, and popularity of his father on his side. Furthermore, he was an army officer, handsome, genial, able, eloquent, and a great orator. With these advantages, Colquitt won an overwhelming victory over his opponent and established his name in the Georgia political arena.¹ He served one term, from March 4, 1853, to March 3, 1855.

In 1857, Colquitt came close to being elected governor at the age of thirty-one. This situation occurred after neither of the leading candidates could receive a two thirds majority vote at the Democratic State Convention. After three days and twenty ballots a committee of twenty-four was appointed to elect the Democratic nominee for governor. It was proposed that each committee member write his preference on a ballot. The delegates, three from each of the eight congressional districts, proceeded to vote. Before the ballots were counted, Linton Stephens from the Seventh Congressional District, suggested that formalities were not necessary, and moved that Joseph E. Brown be selected as a compromise nominee. This was done, and the committee and Convention accepted Brown, and Georgia elected him Governor. Later the ballots were counted and Colquitt

¹William J. Northern, Men of Mark in Georgia (Atlanta: A. B. Caldwell Publisher, 1911), pp.67-68.

had a majority of one.¹ However, it was too late, as the Convention had already acted.

In 1860, the tragic chain of secession began to explode throughout the South, and, on January 16, 1861, Georgia called its Secession Convention to order at the State Capitol. South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, and Alabama had withdrawn from the Union earlier. This Convention passed a resolution making Georgia a free and independent state. Colquitt was on the committee which drew up the Ordinance of Secession. It should be noted, however, that Walton County, the home county of Colquitt, voted against secession.²

After the war broke out, Colquitt proved his loyalty by joining the Confederate Army, attaining the rank of major-general during the war, and distinguishing himself at the Battle of Olustee.³ At the end of the war, Colquitt returned to his old stumping ground in Walton County where he became a prosperous farmer and businessman, harvesting a thousand bales of cotton a year.

On August 17, 1870, Colquitt received a twofold honor by being named President of the State Democratic Convention and was chosen for the same position by the State Agriculture Society.⁴

¹Kenneth Coleman, "The Administration of Alfred H. Colquitt" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of History, University of Georgia, 1941), pp.38-39.

²Allen D. Candler (ed.), The Confederate Records of the State of Georgia (Atlanta: Chas P. Byrd, State Printer, 1909), I, 252.

³Northern, op.cit., p.69.

⁴Avery, op.cit., p.80.

In addition to his political activities, Colquitt was a distinguished churchman. In 1878, he was chosen unanimously as President of the International Sunday School. This body represented some eight million Sunday school teachers and scholars from English-speaking countries and of all denominations. Atlanta was the host city in 1878 and Colquitt made some of the most eloquent speeches of the session, and left an impression on people from all parts of the globe. Colquitt also represented the religious element of Georgia in gatherings of Christian scholars, thinkers, and workers in many parts of the country. Avery says that "few men could have gone to these focal centers of critical intelligence and have sustained so brilliantly."¹

The Election of 1876

In the meantime, Colquitt had worked hard for the Democratic Party and, in 1876, wished to be rewarded by being given the Party's nomination for governor. He had a splendid record of public service to his county, state, region, and nation.

Atlanta was the scene of the Democratic State Convention which met on August 2, 1876. This Convention was empowered to choose the person who would serve as the chief executive of the State of Georgia for the next four years. The leading candidate was Colquitt. His major opponents were three in number. First was ex-Governor H.V. Johnson, who was persuaded by his friends and several newspapers to seek the nomination. But many of the ex-Governor's friends and admirers had committed themselves to Colquitt, therefore his chance for

¹Ibid., p.580.

the nomination was slim. Second was John H. James, prominent Atlanta banker and businessman. Third was Thomas Hardeman, Colquitt's strongest competitor. Hardeman, who was very popular among the electorate, was a fluent speaker, great politician, and had served as a legislator, congressman, Speaker of the Georgia House, and a Confederate officer.¹ Many caucuses were held before the nominations were made on the convention floor. Finally, Hardeman and Johnson withdrew their names during these caucuses, and James' name was withdrawn on the convention floor, thus giving the nomination to Colquitt by acclamation.²

On August 16, 1876, the Republicans assembled in Macon to nominate an Atlanta businessman, Jonathan Norcross, who was described by Avery as being "an odd, grizzly person, an intense, double-dyed Republican, unskilled in party management, regarded as possessing very cranky political theories." Norcross alienated the Negro electorate who made up nine tenths of the Republican Party, and completely ignored the powerful Negro Republicans of Georgia. Furthermore, the Party was already weakened by the downfall of the carpetbaggers and scalawags.³

The general election was held in October, 1876. Colquitt came out victorious with an unprecedented and overwhelming win over Norcross and the Republican Party. In this election, Colquitt received

¹Knight, A Standard History of Georgia and Georgians, II, 881.

²Ibid.

³Judson Ward, "The Republican Party in Bourbon Georgia, 1872-1890," Journal of Southern History, IX (May, 1943), 202.

111,297 votes, Norcross 33,443, and 99 votes were scattered.¹

On January 12, 1877, Colquitt, the first governor to be born in Walton County was inaugurated. His inaugural address was brief, impressive and eloquent. In this address, he emphasized unity of interest among all Georgians and retrenchment in governmental expenditures. He interpreted his unexampled majority as being "the overwhelming interest that Georgians feel in the great issues now convulsing the country, and their determined purpose...to re-establish good government under the undisputed supremacy of the Federal Constitution."² The incoming Governor concluded:

Our work is before us, gentlemen, and a grand achievement is within our grasp. This work is the restoration of a vast heritage, which a sad fortune has sorely wasted and damaged. It is to evoke a thousand splendid resources, now utilized. It is to maintain the proudest and noblest traditions....³

In his first message to the Legislature, Colquitt advocated economy in government and encouraged the abolition of certain positions that could be combined but still function effectively, to wit: the physician to the penitentiary, the superintendent of public works, and the superintendent of wild land.⁴

Colquitt's Administration

Upon taking office, the new governor was confronted with many

¹Avery, op.cit., p.519.

²"Message of the Governor of Georgia to the General Assembly, January 12, 1877," Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia at the Annual Session of the General Assembly, at Atlanta, January 10, 1877 (Atlanta, 1877), pp.50-52.

³Ibid., p.55

⁴Ibid., p.158.

issues. A paramount issue was the Bourbon Democrats' economic policy of leasing the State's convicts to entrepreneurs. This system was in keeping with their program of economy in government, since it relieved the State of the burden of maintaining the prisoners.¹

The burning of the State Penitentiary at Milledgeville by Sherman's men in 1864, left Georgia without an adequate place to maintain its prisoners. With the freeing of the slaves, the problem of housing and maintaining convicts became acute. As a solution, the Reconstruction government devised the convict lease system, whereby the State's convicts were leased or hired out to farmers, railroads, sawmills, coal and iron mines, and other privately owned enterprises.² By leasing these convicts, the State was able to relieve itself of all prison expense except the wages of three officials -- the principal keeper, one physician, and one chaplain. During the 1870's, the number of convicts increased fourfold.³ Many argue that the leasing of convicts brought revenue into the State's treasury, but it should be noted that the lessees (businessmen) made even greater revenue for themselves.

Governor Brown had taken advantage of the convict lease system by using convicts in his Dade County Coal Mines. Brown stated that he was willing to relieve the State of some of the burdens it had

¹C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), p.340.

²Woodward, Tom Watson-Agrarian Rebel, p.59.

³"Second Annual Report of the Prison Commission of Georgia from October 1, 1898, to October 1, 1899," (Atlanta, 1899), pp.5-6.

with convicts, and pay the State over six cents per working day for their services.

Although profitable to the State, the convict lease system was barbarous. One keen observer noted: "Juveniles and old hardened criminals, men and women, black and white, the obdurate and unconquerable, all are huddled and chained together. You have a system that is degrading -- that is barbarous -- that is devilish."¹ Brown admitted that he made a profit at the Dade County Coal Mines from convict labor. Then he asked a question, "Is it a crime for a citizen to put his money into the development of mineral interests, especially if he should succeed in making money by his energy and enterprise?"²

The evils of the convict lease system during the 1870's were documented by the increase in the number of convicts from 432 in 1872 to 1,441 in 1877. Prior to the Civil War, Negro convicts did not exist but during the 1870's the ratio of Negro to white convicts was four to one.³

In 1876, the Legislature ended short-term leases and provided for leases which would run for twenty years, involving large companies with ample resources. An example of the twenty-year lease is Brown's being granted "300 able-bodied, long-term men to work in his Dade County

¹Rebecca L. Felton, My Memories of Georgia Politics (Atlanta: Index Printing Co., 1911), pp.583-85.

²Ibid., p.586.

³George W. Cable, "The Convict Lease System in the South," Century, V (February, 1884), 583.

Coal Mines for whom he paid the state eight cents per hand per day."¹

In 1879, a legislative committee which was appointed to investigate conditions in these privately run prison camps, reported that, "men, women, and youth were chained together in the same barracks, and in a few instances all were occupying common sleeping quarters." Punishment was reported to be extremely cruel. The committee discovered that disease was rampant, due in great measure to overcrowded conditions and substandard diets provided by the lessees. During the investigation, the committee chairman, Robert Alison of DeKalb County, was shot to death in the State Capitol by Edward Cox, a manager of General Gordon's plantation. Colquitt was required to testify at Cox's trial. Cox was given a prison sentence, was elevated to a trusty, and was pardoned later by Governor Stephens.²

The novelist, George W. Cable, analyzed the penal system in Georgia as "peculiarly vicious....Here may be seen a group of penal institutions, the worst in the country by every evidence of their own setting forth: Cruel, brutalizing, deadly, chaining, flogging, shooting, drowning, killing by exhaustion and exposure."³

Tom Watson was a critic of the convict lease system. He condemned the "very atrocious crime committed against the convicts." He maintained that this system "commercialized the State's sovereign

¹Ibid.

²Felton, op.cit., pp.491-93.

³Cable, op.cit., p.584.

right to punish her criminals to money-making companies whose only interest was to maintain the convicts at the lowest possible cost and work him [the convict] at the utmost human capacity."¹

Many legislators spoke out against the inhuman practices that took place under the convict lease system. In 1881, Representative T. W. Milner asked that the system be abolished and described a white prisoner being guarded by Negroes in Dougherty County, "with a Negro guard on one side and a Negro guard on the other side, and a Negro guard ... whipping him."²

Negro Representative Ishmael Lonnon of Dougherty County also condemned the system:

I am not opposed to leases but to the system. It ought to be abolished not for a while, but it ought to be such forever in the indistinguishable ruin of death. Convicts are so terrified that they are afraid to tell how badly they are treated.³

Another Negro legislator, Representative John McIntosh of Liberty County, a graduate of Atlanta University in the Class of 1877, declared that:

I am not afraid of men but when I have seen convicts in charge of guards, these guards looked so ferocious that I felt a horror for them....The colored people come to you and in the name of pity ask you to do something to improve the system.⁴

Yet, Governor Colquitt endorsed this profitable enterprise of

¹Woodward, Tom Watson-Agrarian Rebel, p.106-07.

²Clarence A. Bacote, "Negro Proscriptions, Protests, and Proposed Solutions in Georgia, 1880-1908," Journal of Southern History, XXV (November, 1959), 484.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p.485.

leasing convicts. However, there is no evidence to substantiate his participation in the leasing of convicts. In a message to the Legislature, the Governor praised the penal system of Georgia "in the three great essentials of good discipline, economy, humanity and reform."¹

Another issue concerning Colquitt's administration was the three thousand applications on the Governor's desk from friends who desired State-appointed offices and jobs. These men were seeking a reward for their support to Colquitt while he was campaigning. The chief executive had to disappoint 2,970 applicants, because there were only 30 vacancies. For each friend he kept, he gained 99 enemies, which was a bad ratio for a politician.²

The next major issue to face Colquitt developed over his endorsement of bonds of the Northeastern Railroad for \$260,000; or \$6,500 per mile for 40 miles -- the distance between Lula and Athens. To understand this issue, a retrospective look at the facts is necessary. On October 27, 1870, the Georgia General Assembly had pledged to help the Northeastern Railroad. However, State aid to all railroads was repealed in 1874, except where exceptions were made. The Northeastern Railroad was made an exception by a resolution that passed the same year. Therefore, the Governor had no other course or alternative to take in this matter.³

¹"Message of the Governor of Georgia to the General Assembly, November 2, 1882," Journal of the Senate of the State of Georgia at the Annual Session, at Atlanta, November 1, 1882 (Atlanta, 1882), p.35.

²Knight, A Standard History of Georgia and Georgians, I, p.890.

³Ibid., p.891.

To complicate matters, two Atlanta-based business firms were involved -- the Atlanta Rolling Mill which had an interest in the outcome since it furnished iron to the road; and the Citizens Bank which had advanced certain funds. Matters reached their pinnacle when the general manager of the Schofield Rolling Mill, William Goodnow, made his belief known in a private letter that the Governor had "yielded to improper inducements in granting State aid to the Northeastern Railroad." The contents of this letter were made public and many rumors were spread, some accusing Colquitt of being dishonest.¹

Colquitt reviewed his first years in office in his message to the Legislature in 1878. In addition, he submitted a supplementary statement explaining his position on the bond controversy and requesting a full investigation of the matter. His statement to his jurymen in the General Assembly was very eloquent and timely.

A grievous necessity has been imposed upon me to demand at your hands a thorough investigation of my motives and conduct, as the Executive of Georgia, in placing the State's endorsement upon the bonds of the North-eastern railroad. This necessity has been created by widely circulated slanders and innuendoes, vile and malignant, and wicked as to make all comment and paraphrase upon them utterly futile. Nothing but a thorough sifting of my every motive and act in regard to these bonds, as far as human insight and judgment can reach these, can satisfy aggrieved honor, or give such entire assurance to the people of Georgia, as they have a right to demand in the premises. To a man who values his good name far more than life, it would be an act of supremest injustice to deny the most plenary vindication rendered in the most august and authoritative form known to the laws, or to public opinion. To the people of this great commonwealth, it is of the last consequence that they should know beyond all peradventure, that the man who fills, at their call, the chief seat of authority, is above reproach or suspicion.

¹Ibid., p.891.

My denunciation of an awful and stupendous slander, forged and uttered to dishonor me, will not be enough. The General Assembly of this State -- a co-ordinate power is appealed to for that justice which, it will, I know full well, exonerate me as a man, will also vindicate the fair fame of Georgia, assailed by cruel slanders of her Chief Executive.¹

This well-worded and stated document was accepted by Colquitt's friends and by much of his opposition. The General Assembly, granting his wish, appointed a committee of eight House members and five Senate members to investigate the matter. After a thorough and comprehensive investigation of the Governor's private integrity and his official honor, on December 12, 1878, the committee's findings were presented to the Legislature. The majority report read:

In the opinion of this committee, the reports and rumors that connect the name of the Governor with any improper conduct in the matter of endorsement of the bonds of the Northeastern Railroad Company, are vile and malignant slanders.²

Two committee members questioned the validity of Colquitt endorsing the railroad bonds and in a minority report declared, "We brand as a libel, insinuation that the determination of Governor Colquitt to endorse the bonds was induced by any sinister influence or unworthy motives."³

¹ "Message of the Governor of Georgia to the General Assembly, November 6, 1878," Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia, at the Session of the General Assembly, at Atlanta, November 6, 1878, to August 5, 1879 (Atlanta, 1879), pp.36-37.

² Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia, at the Annual Session of the General Assembly, at Atlanta, December 12, 1878 (Atlanta, 1878), pp.182-84.

³ Ibid.

The General Assembly adjourned the next day before examining this voluminous document. No action could be taken until the Legislature reassembled in July of the next year. Before leaving for home the legislators accepted the following resolution coming from State Senator Henry D. McDaniel of Walton County:

Resolved, that this General Assembly cannot adjourn, in justice to a co-ordinate branch of the Government, to the State, without placing upon the record and avowal of our undiminished confidence in the integrity and purity of the Governor of our State.¹

When the Legislature reassembled on July 2, 1879, the committee made its final report, at which time the majority report was unanimously accepted and the Governor was officially vindicated.

Although the Governor was exonerated, the insurgent Democrats were not satisfied until a committee took a profound look into the entire executive department. As a result of another investigation, the Comptroller General, W. L. Goldsmith, was impeached and found guilty of illegally receiving \$4,582.50 in matters of taxation; illegally extorting costs; refusing to receive taxes; issuing and transferring wild land executions; retaining \$9,720.46 of insurance fees and tax; making false returns on insurance tax; and setting a disgraceful precedent. J. W. Renfro, the Treasurer, was impeached and charged with taking interest on public deposits. He admitted the charge and was acquitted. There were some other minor irregularities reported.²

¹Ibid., p.185.

²Avery, op.cit., p.548.

One of the worst attacks against the Bourbon Democrats arose over the resignation of Senator John B. Gordon from the United States Senate, in May, 1880, just three weeks before the end of the session. He was interested in leaving public life with its "meager emoluments," and wanted to hunt his private fortunes. His personal financial interests were in a deplorable state. Gordon had been invited by one of his former soldiers, T. E. Hogg, to go to Oregon to take charge of Hogg's railroad and mining interests. Gordon had also been offered the presidency of the Great Southern Railway of Florida. He privately informed Colquitt of his intentions, and had correspondence by letter and telegraph in regard to his resignation. It is reported that Colquitt used his influence to dissuade Gordon from his resignation. Failing in this effort, Colquitt named the controversial ex-Governor Brown to become the junior senator from Georgia. Brown had differed with the Southern philosophy on reconstruction, and was considered a liberal. The Triumvirate's enemies made charges of "bargain" and "trade" to Colquitt's appointment.¹

Fielder maintains that the charges of bargain and trade were unfounded; that Colquitt tried to dissuade Gordon from his resignation without success. Before Gordon's resignation was publicized, Colquitt had a lengthy conference with Brown. Brown was in Nashville on the day of the resignation but Colquitt telegraphed him of his appointment and urgently pressed him not to refuse. Brown rushed back a message

¹Felton, op.cit., p.295.

of acceptance.¹

Gordon returned from Washington, but did not accept a job in Oregon or Florida; instead he accepted a railroad job in Georgia. This brought many other criticisms from their enemies. This was the first time during the Governor's administration, that he "felt distrust of public opinion." However, the way that Senator Brown impressed himself in the United States Senate and in public thought during his initial three weeks of duty, was a conclusive vindication of Colquitt's decision.

The Election of 1880.

It was during the election of 1880 that one of the bitterest and hardest fought gubernatorial races occurred in the history of Georgia. It was a contest between Colquitt and the anti-colquitt forces, and centered around the resignation of Gordon from the United States Senate and the appointment of Brown to fill the vacancy. The issue of the convict lease system was also played up in this election. The critics shrieked, "they [Bourbon Triumvirate] got richer on human misery."²

The Democratic State Convention met in Atlanta on August 4, 1880, to nominate a gubernatorial candidate. Aside from Colquitt, there were four candidates seeking the nomination: Thomas Hardeman,

¹Fielder, op.cit., p.524.

²Kenneth Coleman, "The Georgia Gubernatorial Election of 1880," Georgia Historical Quarterly, XXV (June, 1941), 89.

Rufus E. Lester, General Lucius J. Gartrell, and Chief Justice Hiram Warner. The strongest among these were Hardeman and Lester. The 549 delegates at the Convention were largely split into Colquitt and anti-Colquitt camps, the latter more interested in defeating Colquitt than in electing their candidates.¹

The Convention adopted the two thirds rule and vigorous fighting ensued for six days of balloting with neither side giving an inch. The first ballot looked as follows:

Colquitt	208
Lester	58
Hardeman	54
Gartrell	17
Warner	11

Ballot after ballot served to emphasize the solidarity of the two forces. By the ninth ballot, Colquitt had gained one vote and Lester's strength had increased to 69. It was already obvious that a deadlock was likely to ensue.²

Many compromises were offered, but both sides were determined not to yield. On the third day, one of the minority leaders made a proposal that a committee of two men from each group be appointed to select a compromise nominee. However, Patrick Walsh of Augusta, the leader of the Colquitt forces, rejected this proposal. His rejection speech was a "quick succession of hammer-blow sentences." Walsh concluded: "...we do not intend to depart from the city of Atlanta

¹Ibid., p.91.

²Ibid., p.94.

until we have nominated Alfred H. Colquitt [Great applause]. We have come here to do that if it takes us until Christmas to do it [Renewed cheering]."¹

After a ballot had been taken and the excitement over Walsh's speech had subsided, a twenty-three-year-old delegate from McDuffie County, Tom Watson, rose to speak. Watson was making a rebuttal on Walsh's ultimatum:

Mr. Chairman, I have said, and I am now saying that I am here with no bitterness of partisan rancor. I have fought this much named gentleman, A. H. Colquitt, I have advocated him honestly. But serene above my support of Lester rises my love, my devotion to my state, like the tranquil star that burns and gleams beyond the reach of the drifting clouds. [Cheers]. But Sir, under the course of the gentleman from Richmond [Walsh], I am debarred from this privilege. He tells us that we must yield to him, and that unless we nominate Colquitt that this party will permit no nomination. Mr. Chairman, this is not the language a brother addresses to a brother. It is the language of a master to his slave. [Cheers]. ... Sir, the gentlemen's position means that we must take Colquitt or the party will be disrupted....²

After making the most brilliant speech in the Convention, Watson's resolution was promptly tabled on a motion by Walsh.

At a caucus on the fourth day of the Convention, Colquitt declared that he would be happy to withdraw from the contest, but the tactics of the opposition forced him to fight to the end. The people of Georgia enthusiastically pledged him their continued support. One historian of that day set forth Colquitt's motive:

¹Woodward, Tom Watson-Agrarian Rebel, p. 74.

²Atlanta Constitution, August 7, 1880.

It is quite probable that Colquitt would not have run again had it not been for the attacks upon him and his administration which he felt that he must vindicate. The term had been reduced to two years and the salary to \$3,000 by the new Constitution of 1877. Colquitt's private affairs had suffered during his term of public service and were in dire need of attention.¹

After six days of balloting and hard work, the Convention was still deadlocked. At this point, Walsh offered the following resolution:

Whereas, after a long and tedious session of this convention, and continuous balloting, it appears that no nomination of a candidate for Governor can be made under the two-third rule: therefore, be it resolved, that this convention recommend to the people of Georgia, Governor Alfred H. Colquitt as the Democratic candidate for the office of Governor at the ensuing election.²

Although this resolution was adopted by the Convention, all concerned were not satisfied. Following adjournment of the official Convention, the minority remained and nominated their candidate, Thomas M. Norwood. At this point, the "White Man's" party was split; for the first time since the Civil War, the people of Georgia had the opportunity to select their chief executive at the polls.

A paramount question in Georgia politics still remained unanswered, the Republican Party. What would they do now that the powerful Democrats were divided? The consensus seemed to be that they (the Republicans) lacked sufficient strength to win the election, but would form an alliance with one of the Democratic factions. Unfor-

¹Avery, op.cit., p.555.

²Ibid., p.583.

tunately, the Republican ranks were split also and unable to take advantage of the Democrats. The Negro Republicans were strong and could easily have controlled the Party due to their numerical superiority.¹ But the minority candidate was not a popular politician. Norwood was an ineffectual speaker, lacked public appeal and was not in sympathy with the Negroes, whom he had antagonized by previous statements. Referring to Negroes in a speech at Oxford, it is reported that Norwood said, "Cut him down, why cumbereth he the ground."²

Colquitt obtained the full support of the Atlanta Constitution and its managing editor, Henry W. Grady. With Grady in "undisputed command," the Colquitt forces were well organized, with subcommittees in every county and militia district in Georgia. Grady was so influential in the Governor's camp that much of the opposition argued that "Grady actually served as governor in the absence of Colquitt."³

According to Grady, Norwood's bid to become governor received its "death blow," after the powerful Negro-dominated Republican State Convention refused to endorse his candidacy. Norwood's forces attributed this setback to Brown, who, they claimed, knew how to "buy Negro votes." However, Colquitt was popular among Negroes; he had preached to Negro congregations, even while serving as Governor, and many held his friendship in high esteem. They remembered him for the action

¹Olive H. Shadgett, "History of the Republican Party in Georgia," Georgia Review, VII (Winter, 1953), 433-34.

²Coleman, Georgia Historical Quarterly, XXV (June, 1941), 104.

³Lucian L. Knight, Reminiscences of Famous Georgians (Atlanta: Byrd Printing Co., 1907), I, 405.

he had taken in the Jonesboro trouble. On this occasion, Colquitt had taken the Gate City Guard to Jonesboro and brought back to Atlanta the white men arrested for the murder of a Negro when local authorities began to fear that a mob would release them from the local jail.¹

Many distinguished Georgians, including Tom Watson, Benjamin H. Hill, and George F. Pierce, fought laboriously to defeat Colquitt. Alexander Stephens took no part in the election. Felton states that Stephens was anti-Colquitt and anti-Norwood. Many leading papers of that day were critical of Colquitt and supported his opposition. The Columbus Daily Times predicted the outcome of the election: "Brown with his money, Gordon with his buttons, and Colquitt with his religion will make a combination that cannot be beaten."²

The election terminated on October 6, 1880, after a hard battle that included charges and counter-charges of corruption, intimidation and violence. The popular vote was 118,349 for Colquitt, and 64,004 for Norwood. The Bourbon Democrats, the Republicans, and the Negro electorate voted for Colquitt, while Norwood's votes were "lily-white." Colquitt and the Bourbon Democrats were vindicated again and controlled the Georgia political scene for another decade.³

¹Coleman, Georgia Historical Quarterly, XXV (June, 1941), 106.

²Felton, op.cit., p.276.

³Alex M. Annett, Populist Movement in Georgia (New York: Columbia University Press, 1922), p.42.

Colquitt's Economic Program

Colquitt's six years in office are best remembered for his economic program. His first act after becoming Governor was to consolidate many offices. He transferred the duties of the Keeper of Public Buildings to a clerk who was already in the executive department. He reduced the funds used for printing and buildings. He also scrutinized the cost of gas, coal, labor, stationery, postage, advertising and all other incidental expenses.¹

Some positive results of Colquitt's economy in government can be seen in the financial growth of Georgia from 1877 to 1882. His administration collected \$213,731.34 from unpaid fees owed to the State and deposited this amount in the State treasury. When Governor Smith left the Governor's chair in 1876, the State had a floating debt of \$350,000. After one year, Colquitt had reduced this debt to \$200,000, and one year later the debt was completely defrayed. Colquitt also inherited a public debt of \$11,095,879 from Governor Smith; by 1881 this figure had been reduced to \$9,643,500. The Colquitt regime reduced taxes on property from five tenths of one percent, or fifty cents on one hundred dollars in 1877, to three tenths of one percent, or thirty cents on one hundred dollars in 1881. He was also able to save \$40,000 in the cost of the running of the lunatic asylum at Milledgeville, and \$25,000 of this saving was used for the addition to the institution for Negro patients.²

¹Fielder, op.cit., p.499.

²Knight, A Standard History of Georgia and Georgians, I, 917.

Summary

Despite its disturbing factors, the Colquitt Administration was in many respects an era of rehabilitation and of marked growth along material lines. As a result of the various official probes, there was a complete reorganization in some of the departments. The financial state of Georgia increased tremendously during his administration.

Never in the history of Georgia had an occupant of the governorship been more unsparingly assailed by members of his own party than was Colquitt. Some of the assaults made upon him were most malignant, but many were justified. However, during all the fierce warfare kept up against Colquitt and his administration, he remained calm and concerned himself with the issues of the times. In the end, his vindication was overwhelmingly complete and, on relinquishing the governor's office after six turbulent years of responsibility, he was given a vote of confidence by his Party, when they elected him to the United States Senate. Colquitt was re-elected to the United States Senate at the expiration of his first term and remained in that body until his death on March 26, 1894.

CHAPTER II

HENRY DICKERSON McDANIEL (1883-1886)

The Election of 1883.

The expiration of Colquitt's term as Governor in 1882 led to the election of one of the State's most distinguished citizens in the person of Alexander H. Stephens. A leader in antebellum, regional and state politics and former Vice President of the Confederacy, he was now infirm and weak. Despite this condition, however, the people elected him Governor on November 4, 1882.

On February 12, 1883, Stephens journeyed to Savannah in connection with the city's sesquicentennial. The trip proved too much for the invalid Governor and led to his death on March 4. This ended the era of one of Georgia's most distinguished sons and paved the way for another native of Walton County to become chief executive of Georgia.¹

The death of Stephens also enabled Henry W. Grady to retrieve his power as a "Warwick" in Georgia politics. James S. Boynton, a native of Walton County and President of the State Senate, succeeded to the governorship until a special election could be called.²

The Democrats assembled in Atlanta in April, 1883, to nominate a person to succeed acting-Governor Boynton. The two leading candi-

¹Atlanta Constitution, March 9, 1883.

²Albert B. Saye, A Constitutional History of Georgia, 1772-1945 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1948), p.295.

dates were Boynton and Augustus O. Bacon from Macon, who had been Speaker of the State House of Representatives for eight of his twelve years in that body. Another candidate not regarded seriously by most political observers was Henry Dickerson McDaniel, a banker, railroad director, and a member of the House of Representatives from Walton County. A fourth aspirant, Phillip Cook, was an insignificant candidate.¹

This Convention turned out to be a battle between the Atlanta Constitution and the Macon Daily Telegraph and Messenger. At first, the Constitution refused to support any candidate, but it was clearly opposed to Bacon, whom it accused of using "slander as a weapon for the election." Bacon referred to the Constitution as being the "tool" of an "Atlanta ring" led by Joseph Brown. It was common knowledge in political circles, however, that the Macon Daily Telegraph and Messenger was in Bacon's corner. These two papers had made numerous accusations against each other during the campaign of 1882.²

Basically, there was little difference between the political policies of the two papers; only their objectives conflicted -- one supported an Atlanta hierarchy and the other a Macon hierarchy. The Constitution later accused Bacon of requesting a conference with Brown with plans for "making terms."³

¹John E. Talmadge, Rebecca Latimer Felton -- Nine Stormy Decades (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1960), pp. 78-80.

²Raymond B. Nixon, Henry W. Grady -- Spokesman of the New South (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1943), p. 209.

³Atlanta Constitution, June 20, 1886.

The two principal contenders, Bacon and Boynton, fought laboriously in the county elections throughout the State. However, the results from these elections indicated that neither had secured a majority of the delegates. The results of the first ballot were:

Bacon	136
Boynton	130
McDaniel	36
Cook	20

After two days of balloting, the delegates were still deadlocked, but Bacon had increased his vote over Boynton and it was rumored that Bacon would receive the necessary majority the next morning.¹

It was the consensus among political observers that the outcome of the Convention would probably be decided that night in caucuses. First, Cook announced his withdrawal from the race. Then when McDaniel let it be known that he would withdraw from the race at the morning session, no less than sixteen of his delegates, led by W.H. Erwin of Athens, indicated that they were ready to vote for Bacon.²

In a letter to a friend, Grady expressed his concern at the turn of events:

I was astonished, sore at heart, and almost dismayed. It was the first time I ever encountered treachery flagrant and unblushing....To have had Bacon elected by the Tel. and Mess. would have disgraced me and hurt me, almost everyone gave it up but me....But I tell you now if I had come home that night Bacon would have been Governor....³

¹Nixon, op.cit., p.209.

²Northern, op.cit., p.385.

³Quoted in Nixon, op.cit., pp.209-10.

Grady had persuaded Rufus T. Dorsey, leader of the Boynton faction, to throw Boynton's votes to McDaniel instead of to Bacon. The next morning, before a ballot was taken, a friend of Grady moved that the question of nominating a governor be referred to an eighteen-member committee, six to be appointed by Bacon, six by Boynton, four by McDaniel, and two by Cook. Even though the Bacon forces had discovered the plan and opposed the motion, it was adopted.¹

During the committee meeting, McDaniel withdrew his name from the contest. A showdown between the two principal candidates ensued and the results showed nine for Bacon and eight for Boynton. Dorsey, now realizing that his candidate could not win, rose and switched his six votes to McDaniel. Now McDaniel had acquired a majority of ten to eight, and his members placed his name back into the race. He won and accepted the nomination.²

Grady had made his mark in Georgia politics as a "Warwick" and McDaniel was happy. The special election was held ten days later with McDaniel unopposed. The Constitution praised him as a "practical man who would administer the State's affairs as a skillful financier would handle the affairs of a great institution."³

Woodrow Wilson, a young Atlanta attorney was watching the inaugural crowds from his office opposite the State Capitol. The future President of the United States wrote to a friend in Berlin after the

¹Ibid., p.210.

²Ibid., pp.210-11.

³Atlanta Constitution, May 20, 1883.

inaugural festivities were over that:

They were probably not much entertained but they must have been considerably diverted, for our new governor cannot talk....A Tennessean wag expressed great commiseration for ... a State which was about to replace a governor who could not walk with a governor who could not talk, McDaniel is sound enough in other respects...steady and sensible, all the harder worker, perhaps, because he can't talk.¹

Biographical Sketch

The new Governor was born September 4, 1836, in Monroe, Georgia. His father, Ira Oliver McDaniel, a South Carolinian, came to Penfield, Green County, in 1832 and Henry County in 1842. Ira's wife was a daughter of a pioneer merchant of Monroe; her family was from Maryland. John H. Walker, her grandfather, was a patriot soldier in the American Revolution.²

The elder McDaniel distinguished himself as a teacher and successful farmer in early life, careers followed by most outstanding Georgians during this period. The family later moved to Atlanta when the Capitol City was "only a chinquapin thicket." While in Atlanta the elder McDaniel became a prominent and influential merchant and served for many years as a member of the city council. One writer complimented him for helping Atlanta become a major city in the State and nation.³

Henry McDaniel was a delicate child, but he grew into manhood

¹Ray Stannard Baker, Woodrow Wilson -- Life and Letters (New York: Doubleday, 1927), I, 155-56.

²The Story of Georgia (New York: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1939), p.668.

³Candler, Cyclopedia of Georgia, I, 668.

as a robust person. As a lad, he was on the farm enough to appreciate the country and to get a taste of hard work which promoted physical vigor.¹

McDaniel was given excellent educational advantages by his comfortable home. In his youth, he was under the competent tutelage of the Reverend W. M. Jones, Professor McGinty, and Dr. E. W. Griggs in high school in Atlanta. He attended college at Mercer University, then at Penfield, where he received the Bachelor or Arts degree in 1856 as valedictorian of his class.²

McDaniel launched his public career in 1861 as a delegate to the Secession Convention of the State of Georgia. It should be noted that he was the youngest member of the Convention and his persuasiveness was not as powerful as many of the senior members. His philosophy on secession was different from most of his Southern colleagues. He opposed secession and proposed that other avenues be explored in solving this momentous problem. But when Georgia voted to withdraw from the Union, McDaniel and other minority delegates were forced to subordinate their personal opinions and vote and sign the formal Ordinance of Secession along with the majority. McDaniel was appointed to the standing Committee on Relations with the Slave-Holding States of this continent.³

¹Northern, op.cit., p.384.

²Knight, A Standard History of Georgia and Georgians, IV, 2038.

³Journal of the Public and Secret Proceedings of the Convention of the People of Georgia, 1861 (Atlanta, 1861), pp.42-43.

When the free and slave states came to a showdown with arms, he entered the ranks of the Confederate Army without hesitation. Having attained the rank of major, McDaniel distinguished himself as the leader of the gallant Anderson Brigade at the Battle of Gettysburg. He was shot through the body in the retreat from Gettysburg and was captured by the Union Army. For five months he was confined to a Northern military hospital, and later was assigned to the Union prison on Johnson's Island on Lake Erie, where he remained in captivity until his release in July, 1865. After receiving his formal parole, McDaniel returned to Georgia.¹

Upon returning to Walton County, McDaniel continued his political activities as a stalwart Democrat. He was a member of the State Constitutional Convention in 1868, and during Reconstruction he devoted his time to promoting prosperity in the prostrate Southern states.²

Since the Reconstruction Act prohibited loyal Confederates from holding offices in the Southland, McDaniel could only serve in an advisory capacity until the General Amnesty Act became operative in 1872. In October of that year, he was elected to the Georgia House from Walton County. Meanwhile he had attained high rank as a member of the Georgia Bar Association. Evidence of his place in Georgia politics was demonstrated in 1874 when he was elected a member of the

¹ Knight, A Standard History of Georgia and Georgians, IV, 2039.

² Edwin C. Wooley, The Reconstruction of Georgia ("Columbia University Publications: Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law," Vol. XIII, No. 3; New York: Columbia University Press, 1901), pp. 18-20.

State Senate from the district composed of Clarke, Newton, Oconee, Rockdale, and Walton counties. He was re-elected in 1878 and 1880, giving him ten years of consecutive service in the Legislature.¹

While serving in the House, he was chairman of the Committee on Corporation, a member of the Judiciary Committee, and acting chairman of the Committee on Finance, which at that time encompassed Ways and Means and Appropriations. In the Senate he was elected chairman of the Finance and Judiciary Committee.²

As a member of the Legislature, he introduced important measures that helped to shape Georgia's history for many years. He was the author of the Apportionment Act of 1874, which was based on the census of 1870. He authored and championed the Railroad Tax Act of 1874. This act provided for the taxation of the railroads of the State in the same manner as property. Georgia became one of the first states to pass this law and her example was followed by a majority of the other states in later years. He introduced a bill in 1875 which waived the right of homesteading; this was later included in the Constitution of 1877. McDaniel introduced a bill in 1879 which created the Railroad Commission in Georgia, and defined lobbying as a crime in Georgia.³

McDaniel's Administration

As governor, McDaniel "brought to the executive department not

¹Northern, op.cit., p.386.

²Knight, A Standard History of Georgia and Georgians, IV, 2039.

³Ibid.

only the wisdom of an experienced legislator but the skill of an able financier. He was accustomed to the management of large property interests."¹

Governor McDaniel proved himself to be a master of economics and governmental problems and through his efforts much was accomplished that proved enduring to Georgia. In his first message to the General Assembly, he advocated the establishment of a volunteer militia, economy in government, and an improved banking system.²

Most Georgians remember McDaniel's administration for the erection of Georgia's Capitol building in Atlanta. In the summer of 1883, a few weeks after the Old Kimball House had burned,³ the State Legislature passed an act appropriating one million dollars for this purpose. McDaniel served as ex-officio chairman of the Building Commission which had the distinction of completing the project within the limits of the appropriation. A considerable amount of the million dollars that were appropriated originally was left in the State treasury. At that time, competent persons pronounced the State House of Georgia as being "the best in America for its cost."⁴

His forward-looking administration authorized the first sub-

¹Ibid.

²"Message of the Governor of Georgia to the General Assembly, November 6, 1883," Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia at the Adjourned Session of the General Assembly, at Atlanta, May 9, and July 4, 1883 (Atlanta, 1883), pp.25-26.

³The Kimball House was an Atlanta hotel used by most politicians and many political caucuses were held in its rooms. Many candidates were nominated from the ballroom floor.

⁴Northern, op.cit., pp.385-86.

stantial grant for the enlargement of the State Hospital for the Insane at Milledgeville. The State's credit was so good during McDaniel's administration that $4\frac{1}{2}$ percent bonds were readily sold at a premium and the bonded debt of Georgia was reduced by more than one million dollars. The lowest tax rate known to Georgia citizens since Reconstruction prevailed. In addition, the School of Technology (Georgia Tech) was created by legislative action in 1885.¹

McDaniel was not a Bourbon Democrat, however, he endorsed the convict lease system. During his administration nearly all the State's convicts were engaged in mining coal, making bricks, and building railroads. The Governor pointed out the fact that experience had demonstrated that convicts were not always profitably employed at farming and he advocated using convict labor in other industries. He maintained that all convicts were in a sanitary environment. "It has been the constant effort of the officials in charge to improve the conditions and surroundings of the convicts, especially as to sanitation."²

Two amendments to the State Constitution were adopted during McDaniel's administration. The first of these, which was also the first amendment to the Constitution of 1877, eliminated the provision that all local bills should originate in the House of Representatives and be referred to a committee made up of one member from each congress-

¹ Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, 1885 (Atlanta, 1885), p.29.

² "Message of the Governor of Georgia to the General Assembly, November 4, 1886," Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia at the Regular Session of the General Assembly, at Atlanta, November 3, 1886 (Atlanta, 1886), p.32.

ional district.¹

The other amendment broadened the provision authorizing taxation for the support of the Confederate veterans. The Constitution of 1877 covered only those veterans who had artificial limbs, but the amendment added a provision to include the veterans who had been permanently injured in the services.²

Summary

Governor McDaniel, unlike Colquitt, retired from office with the goodwill of all classes of people in Georgia, with an untarnished reputation, and with a record for achievement unsurpassed by any of his immediate predecessors or successors. He returned to Monroe after his tenure of office ended and became a lawyer of high attainments. He remained a Democrat with exalted ideals and utmost loyalty until his death on July 25, 1926. McDaniel died at the age of ninety and is the only retired governor of Georgia to live four score and ten years.³

¹Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, 1884-1885 (Atlanta, 1885), pp.33-34.

²Ibid., pp.37-38.

³Cecil C. Wesley, "Some Interesting Statistics in Regard to Governors of Georgia from Colonial Days to the Present," Georgia Magazine, X (August-September, 1966), 27-28.

CHAPTER III

CLIFFORD MITCHELL WALKER (1923-1927)

Biographical Sketch

Clifford M. Walker was born on July 4, 1877, in Monroe, Georgia. His father, Billington Walker, was a lawyer, banker and manufacturer, but never ventured into politics. Clifford Walker attended elementary and high school in Monroe, where he worked hard as a student, and after school was practically self-supporting. He was Monroe's "newspaper boy" and delivered the evening paper, the Atlanta Journal, "rain or shine." After finishing high school, Walker matriculated at the University of Georgia, receiving his baccalaureate degree in 1897. As a student, he was prominent in literary and debating societies and was the first editor of the college paper, The Georgian.¹

After graduation, he returned to Monroe and initiated his law career by reading law in the office of R. L. Cox, and in 1898 was admitted to the Bar and began practicing law in Walton County. Walker was held in high esteem in legal circles for preparing the Criminal Digest of Law for Georgia, as well as books on crime which won him commendations from solicitor generals and criminal lawyers.²

¹The Walker Heritage (Macon: Merriewoode, 1956), p.123.

²Ibid., p.125.

Walker launched his political career in 1902 by being elected to the office of mayor of Monroe, and remained in that capacity until 1904. He practiced private law for the next five years and re-entered politics in 1909. He followed in the steps of his grandfather, Dickerson M. Walker, by being elected Solicitor General of the Western Judicial Circuit and remained in that position for one term of four years.¹ In 1912, Walker voluntarily retired, but, in 1914, at the insistence of friends, he became a candidate for the office of attorney general of the State of Georgia. The youthful Walker entered the race against a veteran and worthy opponent, Attorney General Warren Grice. Having faith in himself and the people of Georgia, Walker conducted a vigorous campaign, visiting almost every county in the State from Rabun Gap,² which was named for his ancestors, to Tybee Light. He was elected Attorney General with a popular majority of 65,000 votes, carrying 120 counties. He occupied this office from 1915 to 1920.³

The twentieth century brought with it an era of new experiences and new developments. Some of these changes came so fast that the thinking of all the people could not keep pace with the progress in many fields. However, Georgia's governors of the twentieth century have been no less active than their predecessors in conducting exciting political campaigns. More than once a candidate who had been defeated

¹Georgia's Official Register - 1925 (Atlanta: Department of Archives and History, 1925), p.9.

²Rabun Gap was named for Governor William Rabun, 1817-1819.

³Knight, A Standard History of Georgia and Georgians, VI, 2957.

by his formal rival has won the election following. This was true in the case of Walker.

The Elections of 1920 and 1922

In 1920, Walker sought the top position in his State government, but the opposition was too strong for him and former United States Senator Thomas A. Hardwick defeated him easily. Although as governor, Hardwick advocated a great seaboard port, the secret ballot, a great system of highways, and better public schools, the General Assembly was unable or unwilling to carry through most of his program. However, the General Assembly did pass the Secret Ballot Act for all counties. It was ironic that this law was written by William C. Neill, who also authored the arrant law which set up the county unit system in Georgia.¹

After two years of leadership, the people of Georgia were disappointed with the administration of Hardwick. Therefore, Walker decided to challenge Hardwick again. One factor which accounted for the downfall of Hardwick was the great change in the position of Senator Thomas Watson. Watson had supported Hardwick in the election of 1920, but only a few of his friends were appointed to offices by the Governor in the ensuing years. In retaliation, Watson asserted that "Watson men were good enough to vote for Hardwick but not good enough to receive appointments from him." Thus many of Hardwick's

¹E. Merton Coulter, A Short History of Georgia (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947), p.435.

supporters had drifted apart and by election day in 1922 Watson's influence was against Hardwick. In addition, labor was angry at the incumbent for having used soldiers to quell a labor dispute at Waycross. Hardwick's administration was marked by the "boll weevil depression" of 1920-23, caused by a decline both in cotton prices and in production.¹

Also, Hardwick's opposition to the Ku Klux Klan cost him votes. The Governor had praised the Invisible Empire, but he also demanded of the Klan that it unmask and cease its violence. At this point, the Klan leaders rallied behind Walker in order to defeat Hardwick. At a national convention of the Klan, Walker promised that if the organization were to get into any trouble while he was governor, he would not report it to the newspapers or the electorate. "I am not going to denounce anybody, I am coming right here to your leaders and talk to you."²

Walker's campaign for governor in 1922 was waged on an entirely new set of issues. Neither the tax system nor the administrative organization were keeping pace with Georgia's growth in population and wealth; Walker also observed the need for broader and more adequate services by the State. Hardwick and Walker fought a hard fight which carried them to every county in the State.³

¹Atlanta Journal and Constitution Magazine, June 5, 1966.

²David M. Chalmers, Hooded Americanism - The First Century of the Ku Klux Klan, 1865-1965 (Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1965), pp.71-72. Politics was a major outlet and use of Klan power, and in Atlanta, prominent lawyers, members of the city council and school board were klansmen. The editor of the Klan's official newspaper was also a member of the State Legislature.

³The Story of Georgia, p.668.

The election of 1922 was the first in which Georgia women were eligible to vote in accordance with the provisions of the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. In the gubernatorial election, Hardwick was defeated by Walker; the popular votes were 122,784 for Walker, 86,389 for Hardwick, and 2,830 for a third candidate, George Baylor.¹

Walker's Administration

In his inaugural address, the new governor summarized the economy of much of the State, particularly the farmers:

Many of them [the people of the sixties] - more than the world will ever know - have lived for months on pease and buttermilk, corn bread and syrup....I come to encourage you by reminding you that our fathers of the sixties suffered as we have suffered, and endured as we endure and they conquered as we must conquer....²

The Governor was extremely critical of the element that he referred to as the "outside press." He felt that these writers had painted a false picture of Georgia, and addressed himself to the so-called "yellow journals," in the same message:

If the poverty of the South following the destruction wrought by the Civil War forced living conditions for the negro not always sanitary or otherwise conducive to his best interest, let them sympathize with us in solving our economic problems so that better conditions may be provided;...

¹Atlanta Constitution, September 12, 1922.

²"Message of the Governor of Georgia to the General Assembly, June 27, 1923," Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia at the Regular Session of the General Assembly, at Atlanta, Wednesday, June 23, 1923 (Atlanta, 1923), pp.4-5.

³Ibid., pp.7-8.

In trying to impress the outside press, Walker pledged his administration to a "square deal to every citizen, of every color, cast or condition." He also advocated a public sentiment and respect for government by constituted authority. Walker asked his fellow Georgians to obey the "laws of the land as well as Georgia's law."¹

The last and most important reform he mentioned was the reformation of the tax system of Georgia. Walker's tax problem can be traced back to 1911 when the Legislature made appropriations which exceeded the State's income; from that time the deficit in State finances grew steadily. At the end of 1912 the State's debt was \$427,000; by 1921 it had reached a figure in excess of three million dollars. The borrowing power of the governor, which was limited to one half million dollars, had been exhausted. To help meet these deficits, Governor Hardwick, in 1921, sold the rental of the Western and Atlantic Railroad for five years at 6 percent discount. In Walker's administration the Legislature again made appropriation in excess of the State's income to pay the pensions of Confederate soldiers and their widows; another act sold the future rental for a period of seven years.²

Walker, therefore, called for a complete new system of taxation. In 1923, he outlined in a message to the Legislature a three-point tax program to raise revenue for the State. First he advanced a plan for

¹Ibid.

²James C. Bonner, The Georgia Story (Chattanooga: Harlow Publishing Corporation, 1958). pp.415-16.

collecting taxes on intangibles; second, he urged economy by reducing expenses of the government; and finally, he insisted on businesslike enforcement of the existing tax laws. As a means of further economy, Walker advocated a reduction of unnecessary office-holders by consolidating various boards, commissions, and departments. The Legislature, however, turned a deaf ear and most of this program was rejected.¹

The Governor was extremely critical of the method that was being used to construct roads and recommended a modern dependable state highway system. He said: "the favored few have secured their paved roads within a reasonable time while the unfavored majority of counties, these counties not on the main highway were left out." His plan also called for increased appropriations for schools. To promote the educational level of the State he urged that free textbooks be provided in the country as well as in the towns.²

Walker pointed out that a substantial number of the citizens of the State were engaged in occupations which carried them away from home, therefore, he asked that absentee ballots be given to these persons. The General Assembly approved this act.³

The achievements of Walker's administration can further be seen

¹"Tax Message of the Governor of Georgia to the General Assembly, July 5, 1923," Journal of the Senate of the State of Georgia at Regular Session, at Atlanta, Wednesday, June 27, 1923 (Atlanta, 1923), p.4.

²"Message of the Governor of Georgia to the General Assembly, February 24, 1926," Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia, at the Extraordinary Session of the General Assembly, at Atlanta, Wednesday, February 24, 1926 (Atlanta, 1926), pp.15-16.

³Atlanta Constitution, November 9, 1923.

by examining the amendments adopted: six in 1924 and nine in 1926. The writer will elaborate on the statewide amendments: local ones will not be mentioned. The first of these, in 1924, authorized cities and counties to exempt from all ad valorem taxation for a period of five years any new buildings or equipment for manufacture or processing of cotton, wool, linen, silk, rubber, clay, wood, metal, minerals, milk, or electricity. This amendment was to encourage industry to locate in Georgia.¹

The second amendment provided for a biennial session of the legislature limited to sixty days. The Constitution of 1877 had a provision for a biennial session, but this was repealed by an amendment in 1892 which called for an annual session.²

The next one authorized the General Assembly to let cities consolidate their governmental agencies with those in the county in which they were located, provided that the city and county approved the consolidation plan.³

The final statewide amendment of 1924 authorized the General Assembly to consolidate the county offices of Tax Receiver and Tax Collector into a new position known as Tax Commissioner. This amendment gave the counties the authority to fix the compensation of the Tax Commissioner; this did not have to be uniform in the various

¹Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, 1924 (Atlanta, 1924), pp.67-69.

²Ibid., pp.31-33.

³Ibid., pp.811-12.

counties.¹

The first of the amendments of statewide application adopted in 1926 authorized counties to tax "for the collection and preservation of records of birth, death, disease, and health."² The second authorized the State to borrow money for the purpose of paying the public school teachers, but this money was to be defrayed each year out of the common school appropriation.³ The third added to the enumerated purposes for which the State could levy taxes on the construction and maintenance of a system of State highways.⁴

During Walker's administration, an investigating committee from Washington came to Georgia to investigate the activities of the Ku Klux Klan. This committee discovered that the State Capitol had been used for Klan initiations with the sanction of the Governor. In 1924, the Atlanta Constitution reported that Walker traveled secretly to Kansas City to address a closed meeting of Klan leaders on the topic of "Americanism." It was reported that he discussed the "threatened destruction of America and Americanism" by the encroachment of Jews and Catholics and by the way in which a "gang of Roman Catholic Priests" dominated the Democratic Convention. When the press questioned the Governor, Walker admitted having given the speech.

¹Ibid., p.815.

²Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, 1926 (Atlanta, 1926), p.30.

³Ibid., pp.31-33.

⁴Ibid., p.33.

In this same speech, Walker accused former President Woodrow Wilson's private secretary, Joseph Tumulty, of discriminating against Protestant churches during World War I. When the irate Tumulty challenged Walker by suggesting that he appoint a Protestant tribunal to hear proof of the charges, the Governor had no comments.¹

Under pressure from the press, Walker, whom the press dubbed "Kautious Kleagle Kliff," admitted that he had joined the Ku Klux Klan, but his role, he maintained, had always been an inactive one. A former woman legislator criticized Walker for "hanging his hood and nightie" in the State Capitol.²

Summary

Walker was one of the earlier advocates of more money for education and also favored State income taxes and diversified agriculture. His administration was responsible for the creation of the State auditing and revenue department, the biennial session of the Legislature, and the tax on fuel oil for highway construction. The Governor also backed the measure to discontinue the Western and Atlantic rental. But his perpetual dealings with the Ku Klux Klan brought discredit to his administration.

After retiring from the governorship in 1927, Walker returned to Monroe where he continued his law career. In 1937, Walker and Joseph B. Kilbride founded the Woodrow Wilson College of Law in Atlanta, with Walker as President and Kilbride as Dean. Walker was

¹Chalmers, op.cit., p.72.

²Ibid.

active in law and politics until his death on November 10, 1954.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

The three men from Walton County discussed in this study represent a small part of the long procession of men who have been at the helm of Georgia's government for nearly two and one half centuries. For a long time, the men who governed Georgia were named by the British king and ministers who were 3,000 miles across the Atlantic Ocean. It is only since 1825 that Georgians have actually voted for their governor. Each of the governors from Walton County was elected by the people and served under the Constitution of 1877.

Some governors have had more progressive administrations than others. The extent to which the legislature is willing to cooperate in passing wise laws is an important factor in determining the success or failure of an administration.

Colquitt's administration was marked by many criticisms that brought discredit to him as a politician. However, he was successful for six years in carrying Georgia forward. Much of his success was due to his connection with the Bourbon Democrats and the influence of their statewide political machine. Many criticisms leveled against the Colquitt Administration were true, but he remained popular with the electorate during his entire political career.

Governor McDaniel's administration was free of undue criticism, and the legislature was cooperative, due in great measure to his

successful legislative career and his friends in that branch of government. The Legislature granted the Governor almost every request that he made. McDaniel was a hard worker and he put Georgia on the soundest economic program that the State had ever known. However, his administration did little or nothing for the reconstructed Negroes, aside from building facilities for them at the State Hospital at Milledgeville. He wanted to see Negroes in their "place;"

The final governor discussed in this writing, Clifford M. Walker, was an innovator whose political philosophy was well in advance of his time. However, his administration was a disgraceful one and brought shame upon the State because of his intimate relations with the "Invisible Empire" -- the Ku Klux Klan. Many things that he proposed are still being debated today, for example, public roads and education. During the early and middle 1920's most Georgians were satisfied with the status quo and disregarded many innovations that Walker advocated. Therefore, the Legislature passed only a few of his legislative proposals. According to the testimony of his minister, Reverend J. L. Drake, the Governor was as friendly towards Negroes as was politically expedient at that time -- which was not much.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Public Documents

Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, 1818. Millidgeville, 1818.

Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, 1884. Atlanta, 1894.

Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, 1885. Atlanta, 1885.

Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, 1924. Atlanta, 1924.

Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, 1926. Atlanta, 1926.

Candler, Allen D. (ed.) The Confederate Records of the State of Georgia. 5 vols. Atlanta: Charles P. Byrd, 1909, 1910, 1911.

Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia at the Annual Session of the General Assembly, at Atlanta, January 10, 1877. Atlanta, 1877.

Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia at the Session of the General Assembly, at Atlanta, November 6, 1878, to August 5, 1879. Atlanta, 1879.

Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia at the Adjourned Session of the General Assembly, at Atlanta, May 9, and July 4, 1883. Atlanta, 1883.

Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia at the Regular Session of the General Assembly, at Atlanta, November 3, 1886. Atlanta, 1886.

Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia at the Regular Session of the General Assembly, at Atlanta, Wednesday, June 27, 1923. Atlanta, 1923.

Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia at the Extraordinary Session of the General Assembly, at Atlanta, Wednesday, February 24, 1926. Atlanta, 1926.

Journal of the Public and Secret Proceedings of the Convention of the People of Georgia, 1926. Atlanta, 1926.

Journal of the Senate of the State of Georgia at the Regular Session, at Atlanta, Wednesday, June 27, 1923. Atlanta, 1923.

Second Annual Report of the Prison Commission of Georgia from October 1, 1898 to October 1, 1899. Atlanta, 1899.

Books

Arnett, Alex M. Populist Movement in Georgia. New York: Columbia University Press, 1922.

Avery, Isaac W. The History of the State of Georgia from 1850-1881. New York: Brown & Derby, 1881.

Baker, Ray Stannard. Woodrow Wilson -- Life and Letters . 8 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1927.

Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1961. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1961.

Bonner, James C. The Georgia Story. Chattanooga: Harlow Publishing Corporation, 1958.

Candler, Allen D. (ed.) Cyclopedia of Georgia. 2 vols. Atlanta: Historical Association, 1906.

Chalmers, David M. Hooded Americanism -- The First Century of the Ku Klux Klan, 1865-1965. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1965.

Coulter, E. Merton. Georgia: A Short History. 2d. ed. revised. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947.

Felton, Rebecca L. My Memories of Georgia Politics. Atlanta: Index Printing Company, 1911.

Fielder, Herbert. A Sketch of the Life and Times and Speeches of Joseph E. Brown. Springfield, Massachusetts: Press of Springfield Printing Company, 1883.

Georgia's Official Register -- 1945. Atlanta: Department of Archives and History, 1925.

Knight, Lucian L. Georgia Landmarks, Memorials and Legends. Atlanta: Byrd Printing Co., 1914.

- _____. Reminiscences of Famous Georgians. Atlanta: Byrd Printing Co., 1907.
- _____. A Standard History of Georgia and Georgians. 6 vols. Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1917.
- Nixon, Raymond B. Henry W. Grady -- Spokesman of the New South. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1943.
- Northern, William J. Men of Mark in Georgia. Atlanta: A. B. Caldwell Publisher, 1911.
- Phillips, Ulrich B. Life of Robert Toombs. New York: Macmillan Co., 1913.
- Saye, Albert B. A Constitutional History of Georgia, 1772-1945. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1948.
- The Story of Georgia. New York: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1939.
- Talmadge, John E. Rebecca Latimer Felton -- Nine Stormy Decades. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1960.
- Tankersley, Allen P. John B. Gordon -- A Study in Gallantry. Atlanta: Whitehall Press, 1955.
- The Walker Heritage, Macon: Merriewoode, 1956.
- Woodward, C. Vann. Origin of the New South. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951.
- _____. Tom Watson -- Agrarian Rebel. New York: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Wooley, Edwin C. The Reconstruction of Georgia. (Columbia University Publications: Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law," Vol. XIII, No. 3.) New York: Columbia University Press, 1901.

Articles and Periodicals

- Atlanta Constitution, 1876, 1880-1886, 1920.
- Atlanta Journal. 1923.
- Atlanta Journal and Constitution. 1966.
- Bacote, Clarence A. "Negro Proscriptions, Protests, and Proposed Solution in Georgia, 1880-1908," Journal of Southern History, XXV (November, 1959), 471-98.

- Cable, George W. "The Convict Lease System in the South," Century, V (February, 1884), 582-99.
- Camp, Sander. "Industrial, Agricultural and Historical Review," Walton Tribune (Monroe), May 21, 1958.
- Coleman, Kenneth. "The Georgia Gubernatorial Election of 1880," Georgia Historical Quarterly, XXV (June, 1941), 89-106.
- Floyd, J.B. and Felton, R.L. "Political Independent," Georgia Historical Quarterly, XXX (March, 1946), 16.
- Jones, Robert H. (Mrs.). "Walton County," Georgia Society of Historical Research (Atlanta), September 22, 1947.
- Shadgett, Olive H. "A History of the Republican Party in Georgia," Georgia Review, VII (Winter, 1953), 432-36.
- Ward, Judson C. "The Republican Party in Bourbon Georgia, 1872-1890," Journal of Southern History, IX (May, 1943), 196-209.
- Wesley, Cecil C. "Some Interesting Statistics in Regard to Governors of Georgia from Colonial Days to the Present." Georgia Magazine, X (August-September, 1966), 27.

Unpublished Material

- Coleman, Kenneth. "The Administration of Alfred H. Colquitt." Unpublished master's thesis, Department of History, University of Georgia, 1941.
- Knox, Mell. "History of Social Circle." Unpublished paper, Walton County Public Library (Monroe), 1950.